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RECENT EXPLORATIONS IN EGYPT.*

BY

PROF. FRANCIS BROWN.

Some thousands of years ago the waters of the Mediterranean covered the area now known as the Delta of the Nile, and made of it a shallow, triangular basin, with occasional sandy islands, and an irregular bar, or reef, separating it from the deeper sea. Its shores were of a structure like its bottom, stretching away in rolling sand, especially toward the east and southeast. Into this bay the great Egyptian river flowed, with heavily charged water, which, as the current grew sluggish, at the river-mouths and beyond them, laid its burden quietly down upon the smooth sea-floor. Thus the depth became less, and the land was pushed out inch by inch, and mile by mile, until the sleepy river woke one day to the knowledge that its own indolence had lengthened its journey by a hundred miles.

Yet the river did well,—if not for itself, at least for history and for us. If this mud-deposit, lying 50 feet deep over the old bottom, should be suddenly swept out to sea, it would carry with it some of the most momentous relics of the last three thousand years.

We find in Egypt many civilizations, stratified and more or less absolutely fossilized. The Turkish, the Arabian, and the Byzantine do not concern us now. We

* This lecture was illustrated with fifty-six stereopticon views.

have to do with the Roman, the Greek, and the native Egyptian ; with the Hebrew as an important, but essentially distinct, fragment,—not superimposed upon the Egyptian in the same sense with the others, but adhering to it for a while, and then breaking off,—like a pebble, which, loosened from a conglomerate mass, leaves a depression where it fitted in, but shows, as it gets its freedom, how little its close-grained structure has in common with the mass to which its fortune has long attached it.

The oldest monuments we know in Egypt are those left by the early kings, whose capital was, where we might expect it, south of the alluvial deposits of the Delta, but not far away, at Memphis. Possibly some settlements on the edge of these alluvial deposits, as at San (Tanis), may be as old. Only the spade can teach us, if even that can. The Middle Empire had its seat far up the river, at Thebes. Then Tanis, on the Delta fringe, revived. By degrees the Delta in many parts was found not only habitable but of strategic and commercial importance. The home of the Hebrews in Egypt adjoined the Delta and extended into it. As time went on Sais became the capital, and the Greek civilization flourished in these mud-deposits of the Nile, with its centre at Naukratis and Alexandria.

The work of exploration in Egypt has assumed in recent years a new and hopeful aspect. The Bulaq Museum, founded by Mariette, gives a fixed base of operations ; the Egypt Exploration Fund, cordially befriended by the authorities of that museum, has made division of labor possible, and has accomplished a good deal ; while the recent general permission granted for excavating, under fair conditions, joined with the increasing accessibility of

Egypt, and the growing interest in archæology, has already secured some valuable results. A map indicating all the spots where investigations have been made in the last half dozen years would be well dotted from Mt. Casius to Syene of old.

It would be too much to expect that the enthusiasm of discovery should not sometimes make its way into discussions which must be patient, dispassionate, even frigid, if you please, if their results are to be secure. I shall beg leave, however, in an address like this, to keep criticism, for the most part, in the background, and only—with the modesty befitting one who speaks of lands he has never seen, but also with that freedom which one may claim who has neither axe to grind nor lance to break—entreat those who may have any influence in such matters to cast it on the side of scholarly fulness and precision, rigid argument, and sharp distinction between conjecture and demonstration in all questions of archæological interest, Biblical or other,—whether they arise in preliminary reports, formal publications, or the discussions based on these.

Looking now briefly at a few recent contributions to our archæological knowledge of Egypt, we will, if you please, begin with one of the more recent,—Mr. Petrie's discovery of the Greek city of Naukratis, mistress of ships and of the sea.*

* *Third Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Fund: Naukratis.* Part I., 1884-85. By W. M. Flinders Petrie. With chapters by Cecil Smith, Ernest Gardner, and Barclay V. Head. London, 1886. Also, Mr. Gardner's "Lecture" (July 6, 1886) in *Report of Fourth Annual Meeting* (Egypt. Explor. Fund), 1885-86. London, 1886. See also Petrie, in *Report* etc., 1884-85, and Gardner, in *Academy*, Jan. 30, Feb. 6, Nov. 13, Dec. 25, 1886, etc. Also, "Naukratis and the Greeks in Ancient Egypt," in the *Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1887.

And here, at once, I begin to regret that no particular achievement of recent discoverers can be presented this evening except in a rude and rapid sketch.

Naukratis was a flourishing abode of Greek traffic and culture, while Sparta was ruling in Hellas, 150 years before Athens drove out her tyrants. It was perhaps the spot where the Greek first planted his foot in Egypt, to establish relations which were to continue and grow till Greeks seized the Egyptian throne. It marks the beginning of continuous Greek influence in Egypt, and Egyptian in Greece. Perhaps its foundations were laid as early as the first quarter or third of the seventh century B.C., in the troublous times when Egyptian monarchs had their hands full with Assyrian invasions, under Esarhadon and Asurbanipal. Under Psamtik I., who began to reign B.C. 664, it was full of life and commercial power. What it was a century and more later, readers of Ebers will remember to have learned from the vivid descriptions in the "Egyptian Princess." It was a city where Greeks felt themselves at home, traded, and worshipped, and talked—their brighter, sunnier existence standing out in relief against the gloom of Egyptian life, moving, it seems to us, in the constant presence of death and the grave.

This once gay Naukratis, after itself cultivating a long acquaintance with the world underground, disclosed its melancholy and battered face to Mr. Petrie, in the winter of 1884–5. The Egyptian Exploration Fund and the Society for Promoting Hellenic Research* joined in providing him the means to uncover it. The mound of Nebrieh, where he found it, is described as a short distance N. E. of the station of Tel-el-Barud, on the railway

* R. S. Poole, *Academy*, Jan. 17, 1885; *cf.* also *ib.*, Feb. 27, 1886.

from Alexandria to Cairo.* An archaic Greek statue, brought thence by an Arab, was Mr. Petrie's clue to the spot. He found there, besides other relics of Greek civilization in great abundance, a decree of the "city of the Naukratites,"† two copper or bronze coins (duplicates), with the inscriptions *Ναυ* (*Nau*), and *Αλε* (*Ale*)—believed to be abbreviations for "Naukratis" and "Alexander," according to which the piece would be an autonomous coinage of Naukratis, and date from the latter part of the fourth century, B.C. He found also sanctuaries corresponding to two of the five named by Herodotus‡ and Athenaeus§ as standing at Naukratis, and Mr. E. A. Gardner, a year later, found two more. Besides this, it appears that ancient geographical testimony is on the whole in favor of the new location for Naukratis, instead of that which places it on the same Nile-branch with Sais, and nearer the sea. Mr. Petrie concludes—and I see no reason to dissent from any important position he here takes—that Naukratis, lying west of the Canopic branch of the Nile, was at a little distance from the river, but directly on a large canal|| leading from the sea. There is still room for investigation as to the exact course of this canal and the Canopic branch of the Nile in ancient times.¶

* R. Stuart Poole (on the basis of a letter from Petrie), *Academy*, Jan. 3, 1885, p. 17.—It is much to be hoped that future publications of the Egypt Exploration Fund will (1) describe with greater detail and exactness important localities and the course of operations upon them, and (2) contain topographical maps.

† *Naukratis*, Pl. xxx., 3. ‡ Herodotus, ii., 159, 178. § Athenaeus, xv., 18.

|| Mr. Petrie infers from Herodotus (II., 97) that this canal, extending southward, was the ordinary water-route from Naukratis to Memphis during the Nile-flood. The writer in the *Quarterly Review* points out that he has made Herodotus speak more explicitly than the language will really warrant.

¶ Mr. Petrie's little map, *Naukratis*, Pl. xxxix., needs careful examination and discussion. Not all of his conclusions are at once obvious.

The chief buildings traced at Naukratis, in two seasons' work, are the great Temenos, or Hellenion, at the S. E. corner of the mound, the temple of Aphrodite, N. W. of this (not shown on Petrie's plan), the temple of Hera (whose location I have not seen exactly given), the Palaistra, the temple of Apollo, and that of the Dioskouroi. Besides these a cemetery, to the northward. The great Temenos was enclosed by walls 50 feet thick and 40 feet high, could hold 50,000 or 60,000 people, and served as the great assembling place and stronghold, a huge tower within it answering the purpose both of defence, in the last extremity, and of a storehouse in times both of peace and of war. It was the most characteristic and representative structure in the whole city. There and elsewhere, almost countless objects were found, largely Greek:—terra-cotta and stone figures, pottery, weights by the hundred, and coins; besides these, tools, scarabs, metal ornaments, and household and votive objects in great variety. Scarab-making seems to have been an industry that early flourished, but it ceased apparently within a hundred years, and after Hophra's time (c. 570 B.C.), the Naukratite factory of these little beetles no longer gives tokens of its existence.

Of something like equal age with Naukratis must be the Graeco-Egyptic remains found by Mr. Petrie last year (1886) at Tel-Defenneh,* quite in the N. E. corner of the Delta, on a watercourse once the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. There seems no reason for doubting the identity, which the name suggests, and the location bears out, of this ruin with the "Pelusiac Daphnae" of Herodotus,†

* Cf. Petrie in the *Academy*, June 26, and London *Times*, June 18, 1886; also *Report* (Egypt Expl. Fund), 1885-6, and *Academy*, Sept. 4, 1886 (describing objects found).

† ii., 30.

where Psamtik I. established a frontier stronghold, and also with the *Stratopeda** or "Camps," which this king assigned to the Ionian and Carian mercenaries who helped him to establish his throne, and which lay on both banks of the Pelusiac Nile. This was the first appearance in Egypt of the Greek hirelings, who worked more directly on Egyptian life than the commerce of Naukratis did. Psamtik, indeed, welcomed the Greeks in all ways, had his son taught Greek, and established the class of interpreters or dragomans, which has not died out from that day to this. Probably his Greek soldiers garrisoned the great fortress of which Petrie found the remains. Most of it, in unaristocratic fashion, had been paying a long visit to its own cellar, where, especially in the kitchen, curious relics turned up, such as the parlor does not often speak of. When they are a good many centuries old, one might perhaps venture,—as even a pauper, if he is aged enough, may take on a shabby venerableness. It is enough to specify an ancient sink, with those remains which insufficient water, or a servant's hurry, may leave in sinks.†

Possibly some of these fish-bones had been picked by teeth that were not Greek. There is every reason to think that this Defenneh-Daphnae represents also the *Tachpanches* (Tahpanhes) of Jeremiah and Ezekiel,‡—an Egyptian city well within the horizon of these prophets. Thither fled the timorous Judæans, fearing Nebuchadnezzar's vengeance for the treacherous murder of his viceroy in Judæa, and in their company were the royal princesses,

* Herodotus, ii., 154.

† Of course not all, nor most, of the objects found belong to this class. Cf. *Academy*, Sept. 4, 1886.

‡ Jer., ii., 16; xliii., 7, 8, 9; xliv., 1; xlv., 14; Ezek., xxx., 18.

and Jeremiah himself. There Jeremiah was bidden to hide stones in the mortar, in the brickwork, at the entrance of the house, and to prophesy that Nebuchadnezzar should set up his pavilion over the spot where they lay. A brick pavement in the open air, before the castle, was found by Mr. Petrie, and little fancy is needed to imagine Nebuchadnezzar seated there under his canopy;—especially since the local name of the massive ruin is, as Mr. Petrie heard it, “The Castle of the Judæan’s Daughter.”

Nebuchadnezzar’s campaign against Egypt, so confidently prophesied by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, is affirmed both by an explicit statement in a lonely historical fragment of cuneiform text from his reign, and by the record inscribed upon an Egyptian statue now in the Louvre. It seems indicated also by Babylonian seal-cylinders found in Egypt; and the presence of the Babylonian king at Defenneh has evidence of its own, in three inscribed cylinders of clay, bearing Nebuchadnezzar’s name, and unearthed by Maspero at Defenneh a year or so before Petrie went there.* That a border fortress like Defenneh, or Tachpanches, as we may venture to call it, would not remain undisturbed by an invading army that penetrated to Syene is obvious, particularly when the Greek mercenaries quartered there were the main defence of the kingdom. The destruction of their stronghold on the Pelusiæ Nile—assuming that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed it—may have been the direct occasion of their removal to Memphis by Amasis,† who was co-regent with Hophra

* On the monumental evidence of Nebuchadnezzar’s Egyptian campaign, see A. Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, 1878, pp. 2-6, 87-89; E. Schrader, *ib.*, 1879, pp. 45-47; P. Thomson, *Expositor*, x. (1879), pp. 397-403; Theoph. G. Pinches, *T. S. B. A.*, vii., 2 (1881), pp. 210, sqq.; A. H. Sayce, *Academy*, Jan. 19, 1884, p. 51.

† Herodotus, ii., 154.

when Nebuchadnezzar came, and soon after reigned alone. However this may be, the ancient and shattered walls have heard, no doubt, the lament of fugitive Judæans, and the shouts of the triumphant men of Babylon; the flash of Babylonian swords has been seen from the battlements, and the lavish splendor of an Oriental despot has been tremblingly admired by awe-struck spectators. But the stones Jeremiah hid have not been found, and probably will not be. They were stones like any others, but what their presence symbolized has come to pass and left desolation in its track.

Mr. Petrie's excavations at San, ancient Soan (Zoan)—for this identification may be unhesitatingly adopted, especially since Brugsch's careful argument (*Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1872, pp. 16, sqq.),—or Tanis, in 1883-4,* were in some respects less satisfactory than others conducted by the Egypt Exploration Fund. Discoveries made here, first and last, chiefly by Mariette, cover a wide range of time, from the XIIth Dynasty to the late Roman period, but a continuous and intelligible history of the town cannot yet be given. The dilapidation, in a literal sense, is extreme. Mr. Petrie's description and plan enable us to understand something of the ancient temple enclosure, and of the monuments previously found, as well as of what he himself turned up. There is a melancholy grotesqueness in his inability to do much more than catalogue the pieces of the colossus of Ramses II., that once stood more than 90 feet high, and to measure the width of its toes! Here was one chief seat of

* *Tanis*, Second Memoir, Egypt Exploration Fund, by W. M. F. Petrie, Part I., 1883-84, London, 1885; also review of same by G. Ebers, *Academy*, March 6, 1886; Miss A. B. Edwards, "Story of Tanis," in *Harper's Magazine*, October, 1886.

that best-known of Egyptian kings, here the invading Hyksos had housed and ruled before him, and here, for fifty generations after him, there was eager, busy civic life; there were splendid buildings, military triumphs, rich and awful worship; and here a few dirty Arabs in our day make desolation more desolate, with their mud-walled huts, their squalid habits, and the grasping narrowness of their petty lives.

The most interesting things of which Mr. Petrie can claim to be the finder at San belong to the Greek and Roman period. Such were the house of Bakakhuu, a lawyer of the Roman time (2d cent. A.D.), east of the temple area, with 150 papyri, and many household objects; and another house, apparently the residence of a Roman official, noteworthy, among other things, for a curious glass zodiac of fine workmanship and rich decoration, broken, unfortunately into 200 pieces, but partly repaired by the finder; what Mr. Petrie thinks to be a plano-convex lens was found in the same house. But while all this is interesting in its way, the things we care most for, if they are there at all, lie much deeper, and cannot be reached without long and patient digging. They belong to the earlier centuries, the ages of Ramesses and Hyksos and their predecessors, and will tell us some strange stories if they are ever found.

Miss A. B. Edwards has made the very utmost possible of her materials in her entertaining and graphic paper entitled "The Story of Tanis," in *Harper's Magazine* for October, 1886.

A word must suffice for minor excavations by Mr. Petrie and by Mr. F. Ll. Griffith, for some time Mr. Petrie's companion. At El Quantâra, 10 miles east of

Defennieh, Mr. Griffith excavated on a site called Tel Abu-Seif, finding various Roman and Ptolemaic remains; in particular a stone with a Latin inscription identifying the place with the camp of a part of the Thracian legion under Marcus Aurelius.* A few miles south of San, at Tel Nebesheh, Petrie and Griffith think they have found *Am*, capital of *Am-Pehu*, or the Tanitic nome.† Mr. Griffith discovered many interesting objects, including foundation deposits (see below) at Tel Gemayemi, between Tel Nebesheh and San; while at Tel Ferain, 16 miles north of Sais, where an Arab village lies, called *Ubtu*, Mr. Petrie feels sure of the ancient Buto, at one time an important place in the Delta; at Senhur, between Tel Ferain and Sais, he finds what he believes to be the Kabasa of Ptolemy‡; and at Kom-el-Hisn, 6 miles south of Nebireh-Naukratis, he, Gardner, and Griffith identified the site of *Amu*, capital of the Libyan nome.§

We may pass now to a brief glance at Naville, and his work under the Egypt Exploration Fund. I shall not presume to take many minutes for his now well-known discoveries at Tel-el-Maskhuta. The general shape of the ruins he uncovered is that of a square, lying between the Fresh-Water Canal, on the north, and, on the south, the old Canal of the Pharaohs, which joined the Nile with the Red Sea. The chief remains within it were what appeared to be a temple area, and the brick structures which Naville identified with the store-houses, or cham-

* Cf. *Fourth Report*, etc. (Egypt Expl. Fund), 1885-6; *Academy*, Sept. 4, 1886.

† Tel Nebesheh = Tel Bedawi = Tel Farun. On excavations here, see Petrie, *Academy*, Feb. 5, 13, 27, March 25, April 10, 1886; also *Fourth Report*.

‡ *Academy*, March 13, 1886, p. 189.

§ *Academy*, Jan. 2, 1886, p. 16.

bers, characteristic of Pithom.* The identification with Pithom does not depend on these "store-chambers," though if they are such, they would confirm it, but upon abundant references to the god *Tum*, on monuments found at Tel-el-Maskhuta, and particularly by the five-fold occurrence of the name *Pi-tum*, "Place of Tum," on these monuments. This, joined with the probability of the location, and with monumental evidence that the city was not older than Ramses II., gives the identification a high degree of likelihood.

Not this, but two other discoveries here have some bearing on the route of the Israelites out of Egypt. On these, only a word or two :

The name *Thuku* or *Thuket*, known already as that of a city and a district, and identified by Brugsch, Naville, and others with the Hebrew Succoth,† was found by Naville at Tel-el-Maskhuta. He thinks, therefore, that Thuket was another name for Pithom, and was the name also of the region about. In the latter sense he takes it in the Exodus story. I am free to confess that it does not seem to me as yet more than a hypothesis that Thuket and Succoth are the same name, nor does it appear likely that if the Israelites' starting-point, Ramses, is a *city*,—and the burden of proof rests with those who question it,—the first stopping-place should be any locality not equally definite. I am, therefore, not able to feel confidence in Naville's designation of this first halting-place.‡

* That these were "store-chambers" is denied by the Rev. G. Lansing, D.D., *Monthly Interpreter*, Nov., 1885.

† Exod., xii., 37, etc.

‡ Cf. on this, and the following, and on Naville's further identification, Pihahiroth-Pikerehet, A. Dillmann, "Ueber Pithom, Hero, Klysmä. nach Naville," in *Sitzungsbericht der Königl. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1885, xxxix. (July 30); also, Rev. C. R. Gillett, in *Old Testament Student*, Jan., 1887; *Presbyterian Review*, April, 1887.

Near the enclosure marking Pithom, Naville found other ruins, and here were two inscriptions with the name Ero (Hero, the Greek Heroöpolis). The importance of the discovery lies in the fact that since ancient geographers represent Heroöpolis as a port of embarkation on the Red Sea, and habitually call the western arm of that sea the Gulf of Heroöpolis, it would appear as if the Gulf of Suez must have extended up at least to Lake Timsah, and the site of the present Ismailia. Naville brings it still farther to the N. W. It would be impossible in brief compass to make an intelligible statement of the conflicting and obscure historical evidence in the case. It appears to me that the balance is, on the whole, in favor of an extension of the Gulf of Suez much north of its present limits in ancient historic times. Geology puts no veto upon this, for, it is strongly argued by Sir J. W. Dawson * and Prof. Edward Hull † that the Isthmus has been in recent ages tipping from south to north, and this view is quite independent of the opinion of the Rev. C. R. Gillett, ‡ based on expert testimony, to the effect that the hardest ridge of rock between Ismailia and Suez was, when the Suez Canal was cut, 6 feet below the level of the Gulf.

Yet, if, as seems likely, the sea once came up to Lake Timsah, or beyond, this in no way solves the question of the route of the Exodus. It only extends the stretch of water at some point of which the passage of the sea occurred. I incline, on slight indications, to a point well

* *Egypt and Syria*. (By-Paths of Bible Knowledge, vi.) Lond., 1885, p. 58.

† *Mt. Seir, Sinai, and Western Palestine*, London, 1885, p. 186. Also, *Pal. Expl. Fund Quarterly Statement*, April, 1884.

‡ *Independent*, April 14, 1886, p. 7.

north of Suez, but, in our present topographical ignorance, who shall assume to say the final word ?

It remains, before passing to what I trust will be more entertaining, to note in a sentence or two some later explorations of M. Naville. In 1885, after trying several spots, he undertook work at *Saft-el-Henneh*, 6 miles E. S. E. of Zagazig.* He found here a shrine dedicated to Sopt, god of the Arabian nome. The Arabian nome, as we know, contained a place called Kesem, and Pa-Kesem, and an inscription from Saft-el-Henneh bears the name of the place Kes. Now, since Goshen is called by the LXX *Gesem Arabias* (Γεσὲμ Ἀραβίας), or Gesem of Arabia, Naville thinks he has found the very Biblical Goshen monumentally attested, particularly since Saadia, in his Arabic version of the Bible, translates Goshen by *Sedir*, identified with a region north of Belbeis, which would naturally include Saft-el-Henneh. All this, however, needs much more careful study, and in particular the claims of Fakûs, 20 miles N. E., to the inheritance of Pa-Kesem, are not to be ignored. Similar caution may well be observed in answering Naville's inquiry, in view of a statue of Ramses II., and an old Itinerary, putting Ramses, a city, built by the Israelites, 4 miles from the capital of Arabia, whether Saft-el-Henneh was not originally the city of Ramses. Perhaps M. Naville's forthcoming book on "Goshen" will set these matters in clearer light.

Recent letters from Naville, in Egypt, announce the discovery of various traces of the Israelites in local names, about Belbeis, and mounds in that region, but the reports are not yet definite or striking enough to be presented here. †

* See his lecture, in *Third Report*, etc. (Egypt. Expl. Fund), 1884-5.

† Cf. *Academy*, Feb. 10, 1887.

And now, if you please, we will leave these geographical questions, and go back for a brief glance at some objects found at Naukratis, Pithom, and Tanis, before we start up the Nile.

From Naukratis I call your attention (1) to a number of alabaster statuettes of the sixth century B.C.

(2) To specimens of pottery from the sixth century and the fifth.

(3) To a beautiful bowl, of what is called "Cyrenian" ware, from the sixth century.

I do not attempt to enter upon any details, which belong to specialists, nor even to do more than barely mention a peculiar kind of ware dubbed "Naukratis pottery."

A word about the inscriptions from Naukratis. These are, for the most part, scratched on pottery, and are of special value for the history of the Ionic alphabet. Most of them are brief dedications, few contain any other name than that of a god, and in only one case does the name give a clue to the age. Readers of Herodotus will remember the Greek general in Egyptian service* who went over to Cambyses, before Cambyses invaded Egypt, and what I fear may be the larger number, who take their Herodotus at second hand, will perhaps recall the figure of Phanes in Ebers' romance, to which I have already referred. It is interesting just here, because this Phanes came from Halicarnassus, and because one Naukratis bowl bears the dedication of Phanes, son of Glaukos, to the Milesian Apollo.

The coins, weights, and beetles we will pass by.

(4) The tools and weapons are not uninteresting. The

* Herodotus, iii., 4.

collection from Naukratis includes, among other things, a sword, arrow-heads, a lance-head, an adze or hoe, a poker, a knife, fish-hooks, chisels, borers, an axe, a bodkin.

(5) Archæologically more interesting still are the ceremonial foundation deposits found by Mr. Petrie at Naukratis, Tel Nebesheh, and Tel Defenneh, and by Mr. Griffith at Tel Gemayemi. Those at Defenneh were placed by Psamtik I. (seventh century), those at Tel Nebesheh by Amasis (sixth century), and those at Naukratis by Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus), in the third century, B.C. They consisted of implements for sacrifice, models of tools used, and samples of building materials, from a Nile mud-brick to costly stone and precious metals; more particularly, at Naukratis, there were a bronze axe, trowel, adze, chisel, iron hoe, mortar-rake, alabaster pegs, a cartouche of Ptolemy II. (lapis lazuli), green pottery libation vases, green pottery cups for offerings, a bronze knife, an axe, samples of green glazed pottery, a brick of Nile mud, gold, silver, lead, copper, iron, turquoise, jasper, lapis lazuli, agate.

From Tel-el-Maskhuta, or Pithom, attention may be called to (1) a Hyksos Sphinx, recut by Ramses II.;

(2) A Triad of divinities; probably Tum, Hathor, and Hor Sam Taui. *Cf. Pithom*, p. 32;

(3) A figure, which is not a sphinx, but a crouching or squatting man, with the arms resting on the knees. This is the famous statue of Ankh renp nefer, "the good recorder of Pi-Tum" under the XXIIId Dynasty. The statue is of red granite, and the front bears a naos, or shrine, with a figure of Osiris. The name and title, just given, are inscribed on the right of the naos;

(4) The Hawk of Horemkhu;

(5) Inscriptions of geographical importance, determining the position of Heroöpolis ;

(6) One of the "stone chambers," which has been published in photograph, showing the shape and the outlines of the bricks.

From San may be mentioned :

(1) A head of Amenemhat I. (XIIth Dynasty), in red granite, part of the oldest statue known to belong to Tanis.

(2) A head of Ramses II., in red granite.

(3) A figure, perhaps of Ptolemy II., with tablets.

(4) The figure bearing the name Bakakhuiu, believed to be the lawyer of Roman times, whose house was found, east of the temple, with many curious objects.

Now we are at liberty to move farther south.

While recent discoveries in the Delta have been chiefly on new sites, and have increased geographical knowledge, those at Memphis and farther south show what surprises await the explorer in more familiar regions. With the great freedom now allowed the excavator in Egypt—thanks to the government, guided by the large-minded policy of M. Maspero,—discoverers are busy like bees all up the Nile valley. The most important work, however, has been done under the direction of Maspero himself.

Before speaking of this, however, a single word about some late operations carried on at the southernmost point to which our attention will this evening be directed,—far up the Nile, at Assuan and Philae, at the first cataract. Assuan, six hundred miles from Cairo, by the river, is the outpost station of Egyptian troops under British command, and the chief officer of the garrison, General Grenfell, has been making archæology his debtor, by employing

his soldiers for archæological work, in the fortunate absence of taxing military demands.* Thus he has conducted a series of valuable excavations along the cliffs on the left bank of the Nile, opposite Assuan, and found rock-hewn tombs in great numbers, some of them as old as the VIth Dynasty. Besides this he has had a considerable number of Coptic buildings, the ruins of which disfigured the remains of the great temple at Philæ, taken away, and is showing himself a real and energetic lover of antiquity and friend of learning.

After this distant excursion we return to Memphis for a fresh start, passing over many things, by the way, of greater or less account, and specifying only the revived interest in *graffiti*,—rude scratchings on the stones at Akhmim, Luxor, and elsewhere,—some of which have been observed but lately, and to which Mr. Petrie is now devoting careful attention,†—and mentioning, to show that it is not forgotten, Mr. F. Cope Whitehouse's work in surveying the Fayûm.

From Memphis southward the chief explorer has been M. Maspero, until lately director of the museum at Bulaq, Cairo.

Among other tasks Maspero began last year (1886) a vigorous attempt to solve the ancient problem of the Great Sphinx.‡ In front of it 100 feet or more of

* *Academy*, March 13 and 20, May 1, 1886.

† Maspero, Report ; *Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1886 ; cf. *Academy*, Aug. 14, 1886, and letter from W. M. F. Petrie, *Academy*, March 27, 1887. For other discoveries see the above publications, *pass.*, and *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéol. Française au Caire*, 1881-1884." Paris, 1884-1885.

‡ Maspero, Report ; *Académie des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, June 18, 1886. Cf. *Academy*, Aug. 14, 1886, and letter from W. M. F. Petrie, *Academy*, Jan. 8, 1887.

sand have been dug away; about the same distance from the face a flight of descending steps, 40 feet wide, of late workmanship, has been disclosed, the stele of Thutmes IV. has been uncovered between the paws, but unfortunately the cartouche of Khafra, the ancient, has flaked off from it. Mr. Petrie writes to the *Academy* that there is evidence to the effect that Thutmes, with all the respect he, on this stele, claims to entertain for Khafra, actually stole the block on which his ascription is engraved from the temple of Khafra, whose ruins lie just to the southeast. The theory proposed by Maspero with regard to the basin, or amphitheatre, in which the Sphinx lies, and the edges of which show everywhere, we are told, marks of artificial cutting, is that this amphitheatre was hollowed out by human workmen, who left in the middle the huge block out of which the Sphinx was carved. That any given achievement of engineering and construction must have baffled the skill and strength at the disposal of Egyptian monarchs, few will dare to say. The probabilities would favor at least an original formation of the rock, such as by its shape might support such a work, and contribute to lessen the vast difficulty of its accomplishment. There is as yet, we are assured, no proof that the temple close by was in any part hewn out of the rock. Recent diggings about it disclose in its structure only huge placed stones. However this may prove, the stone image around which the diggers are at work grows, no doubt, more majestic, the more it is revealed, in spite of the patches and restorations of younger ages,—the Roman paws, the slabs inserted and themselves in turn repaired to save the crumbling surface of the breast.

Besides these operations near the Great Pyramid, within five or six years Maspero has opened all the pyramids at Sakkâra, and others at Dahshur, Lisht, and Meïdum, a little to the south, and has made extended examinations of the *mastabas*, or private tombs of Lower Egypt.* He has been active, also, at several points on the way up to Thebes, as well as in and about Thebes itself. Akh-mim, 100 miles below Thebes, Neggadeh, just north of Thebes, Taûd and Rizigab, just south of it, are among the scenes of his work. One of the latest tasks he undertook was the clearing away of intrusive modern buildings from the temple ruins at Luxor.† But the most brilliant discoveries have been made on the other side of the river.

It will be remembered that the great temples now known by the names of Karnak and Luxor are on the right bank, where the palaces were, the dwellings, commercial buildings, and other structures, public and private, belonging to the daily life of the living population of Thebes. On the left, or west bank, lay the Necropolis, with its tombs and splendid monuments, and with the great numbers of priests and people who were engaged in funeral or memorial services, or who made their living by embalming, and by furnishing meat and bread, wine and flowers, for burial and for sacrifice. Of the ruins which abound in this Necropolis it is enough to name now the memorial buildings of Thutmes III. and of Ramses III., now known as Medinet Abu, the Ramesseum (sometimes called Memnonium) of Ramses II., the rock-hewn Temple-tomb of Dêr-el-bahri, north and west of

* *Mémoires publiés*, etc., Paris, 1884-1885; Maspero, "Trois Années de Fouilles."

† *Comptes Rendus*, June 18, 1886.

which, passing round the hill, runs the path to the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. On this west bank are also the two colossal statues of Amenophis III. (XVIIIth Dynasty, marking the entrance of his (now destroyed) memorial temple), of which the northernmost, called by the Greeks *Memnon*, and connected with a Homeric hero, through a misunderstanding of the Egyptian *mennu*, "great monument," used to respond to the sun's morning greeting, and stirred the superstitious fancies of many generations.

Three discoveries in this Necropolis demand attention before this hasty survey of recent exploration in Egypt is brought to a close,—one at Kurmet Murrai, and the other two on the hills about Dêr-el-bahri. At Kurmet Murrai, a little to the N. W. of Medinet Abu, Maspero was fortunate enough, in Feb., 1886, to light upon a tomb with the seal unbroken,—a tomb, that is to say, which had hitherto escaped the thievish cupidity that has deprived most of the Egyptian burial-places of half their archæological value by stripping them of whatever seemed to have money worth. Mummy cases, with colors of brilliant freshness, and the shrivelled mummies in them, were here, untouched since they were laid away, and a full and curious set of the objects,—a shrine, figures, implements, and vessels,—belonging to the service of the dead, was disclosed. The tomb dates from the XXth Dynasty, and contained the bodies of an official of the cemetery where it lay, who died in the reign of Ramses IV., with his wife, his children, and his servants. For 3,000 years they have been quietly resting there,—till Maspero unlocked the door, a year ago.* What gives us a close interest in this tomb is the

* Cf. *Academy*, March 20 and August 14, 1886, and M. Maspero's Report, *Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, July 16, 1886.

fact that from it, as well as from Akhmim, have come most important parts of that singularly choice Egyptological collection now in our Metropolitan Museum, which only awaits the hall that is building for it, to be exhibited to the public.

The second Theban discovery we are to notice was made by Maspero in 1883. The tomb of Horhotpou, a private man, from the time of the XIth Dynasty, as Maspero judges, he found on the slope north of Dêr-el-Bahri, beside the path leading to the Tombs of the Kings. It consisted of a chamber cut in the soft rock and lined with white limestone, and a sarcophagus built up of slabs of the same material. These are noteworthy, both in their difference from the earlier Memphitic tombs, as to mode of decoration, and still more in their resemblance. The difference is that the hieroglyphics in the tomb of Horhotpou are cursive, and that the texts found are such as belong, not to private, but to the royal tombs of the VIth dynasty in Lower Egypt. The paintings and symbolism of what awaits the soul after death are, however, essentially alike, and Maspero deduces a new argument for the substantial identity in art and in religious ideas between the two epochs, separated in place and in time.

In this tomb, too, we have a local interest, for one piece of stone from the foot of the sarcophagus, stolen from the place by some thievish Arab long before Maspero explored it, has been identified with a limestone slab now in the Abbott collection at the rooms of the New York Historical Society, where it is numbered 380. It shows the peculiarly variegated border, said to be unique in coffins of the period, and is covered with cursive hiero-

glyphs, containing, among other things, the name of Horhotpou himself.*

The most surprising discovery of all has been that, so widely published, of the 36 royal mummies in one cavern, a little to the south of Dêr-el-Bahri. It came about through the consummate generalship and intrepidity of Maspero, who, after squeezing the secret out of one of the robber-band who had been rifling the tomb at their leisure, and selling its notable contents piecemeal, was obliged, because of his departure for Europe, to leave the actual investigation of the place to his associate, Emil Brugsch-Bey, brother of the renowned Egyptologist. He found a royal burial-chamber of unaccustomed structure, and with contents simply astounding.

"Dêr-el-Bahri" (Monastery of the North) is a name given in Byzantine times to a religious house erected on the ruins of a splendid temple-tomb; this was built by the famous queen Hatshepsu, sister of Tutmes II. and III. of the XVIIIth Dynasty. We do not know that she was buried there. Most of the kings of this period had their tombs, as is well known, cut out of the rock at the sides of the valley called Bab-el-Muluk, "king's gate,"—or "Valley of the Tombs of the Kings," behind the ridge of Dêr-el-Bahri.

Recall the characteristic features of Egyptian tombs. Most simply stated, they were: a chamber for offerings and commemorative gatherings, and another chamber for the sarcophagus containing the mummy, reached commonly by a shaft or well. Among the oldest tombs

* *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéol. Française au Caire*, 1881-1884. Maspero, "Trois Années de Fouilles." (On the New York fragment, see pp. 135, 172.) Also *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, Boulaq, 1883, pp. 251-257.

known in Egypt are the *mastabas* of Lower Egypt, solid structures looking like the segment of a huge obelisk, with the commemorative chamber let into one side, and the well leading to the sarcophagus-chamber generally quite disconnected from the commemorative chamber, and opening through the top of the *mastaba*. A third feature was the *serdab*, or narrow, walled-up room in the *mastaba*, where images of the deceased were preserved. The plain of Gizeh (*e. g.*) was covered with these structures.

The section of the great pyramid shows also several chambers, one below the surface of the ground. The pyramids were to the kings what the *mastaba* was to a private citizen.

Coming up to Beni-Hassan, we find tombs hewn in the rock, whose solid mass is carved into pillars at the entrance. Within there is the chamber and the well for the sarcophagus.

At the "Tombs of the Kings," in the Necropolis of Thebes, we find plain entrances, but great splendor behind them. The tombs of Seti I. and Ramses II. have long been famous. In private tombs of the period we still find the two characteristic chambers. But in these royal tombs all the succession of decorated rooms which are here to be observed are really an extension and expansion of the single sarcophagus-chamber; the commemorative chamber has, in its turn, expanded into a temple, become separated from the tomb itself, and taken the form of such noble structures as the Ramesseum, and the buildings clustered at Medinet Abu. Moreover it was still the stringent rule, that each sovereign should have a tomb of his own.

The burial-place found by Emil Brugsch was quite

different. Its entrance was a ruinous cavern, immediately descending in a perpendicular shaft to a depth of nearly 40 feet (11.50 metres), and then passing by a horizontal passage, too low for a man to stand upright, and with one sharp bend at right angles, until, some 200 feet from the bottom of the vertical shaft, the mortuary chamber was reached, fairly populous with famous dead. The most renowned kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, Amenophis I., Tutmes III., Seti I., Ramses I. and II., and other kings and queens down to the XXIst Dynasty,* were here packed in together, and these, with such of their belongings as were left to them, by the rapacity of thieves, were dragged out through the narrow passages, lifted up into the light of day, transported to the river bank, after almost superhuman exertions and incessant vigilance on the part of Brugsch, were put on board steamers that came up to take them, and, with crowds thronging the shore, in awe and wonder, and with glimmerings of national pride, were conveyed down the venerable stream they had so often sailed over in despotic luxury, to find a new resting-place in a museum founded and sustained by peoples which began to be long after they had closed their eyes for the last time.†

* The views exhibiting the entrance to this tomb, and its plan and section, as well as one showing the topography of Dêr-el-Bahri, were made for this lecture from cuts in Miss A. B. Edwards' article, "Lying in State in Cairo," in *Harpers' Magazine*, July, 1882, by the kind permission of Messrs. Harper and Bros.

† On this discovery of July 6, 1881, at Dêr-el-bahri, see *La Trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari*, by Brugsch and Maspero, Cairo, 1881 (20 photographs, with 10 supplementary); Maspero, "Sur la Cachette découverte à Dêr-el-Bahari," in *Verhandlungen des 5ten Intern. Orientalisten-Congresses* (Berlin, 1881), 2ten Theil, 1ste Hälfte, Berlin, 1882; Amelia B. Edwards, "Lying in State in Cairo," in *Harpers' Monthly Magazine*, July, 1882; Georg Ebers, "Ein Friedhof ohne Gleichen und Vierzig Auferstandene Könige," in *Die Gartenlaube*, Leipzig, 1886, Nos. 42, 43, 45, 46, 47.

This discovery was not merely an amazing one, by reason of the fame of the kings whose remains were found, and the strangeness of the tomb; it propounds questions, part of which only conjecture can answer. It seems likely, in the first place, that the XXIst Dynasty, instead of a separate place of sepulture for each ruler, preferred—whether for sentimental or practical reasons—a family tomb;—that, therefore, the sovereigns of this dynasty who were found in the rock-chamber at Dêr-el-bahri, and none of whose tombs have been discovered elsewhere, were reposing where their reverent successors had laid them. They were, then, so to speak, the hosts, and the elder sovereigns their venerable guests. But these guests had come with less stateliness and dignity than in life they might have wished. As one saved from a shipwreck or a burning house takes with thankfulness the garment offered him, without nice anxiety whether his name is marked upon it, and as he submits without a murmur to the discomforts of crowded rooms, and perhaps short rations, so Ramses II., *e. g.*, had to take up with a mummy case two or three hundred years too young for him, all the new-comers were forced to be content with such place as they might find in the sleeping-chamber of royal people who at least offered them all they had, while the sepulchral repast of mummified mutton, gazelle, and goose, provided for one delicate queen, was the main reliance of vigorous heroes and conquerors of the older days.

That only the stress of need could have brought kings to this pass, demands no argument. It is presumed that they were driven, not by fire or flood, but by fear of that same greedy and unsentimental class of men that

had, in our day, found them out in their last hiding-place,—grave-robbers, jewel-thieves, body-snatchers. Curious Egyptian documents have already attested the existence of such bad men even in those unsophisticated times, and have depicted their ravages. Perhaps the experience of centuries taught the monarchs of Egypt that in view of the rapacity of man, one snug house, with a single, easily guarded door, offered more security for them all than many scattered palaces of the dead. That this thought actuated the monarch of the XXII^d Dynasty who brought these patriarchs among the kings together in the tomb of his own predecessors, there can be little doubt. Official records on the bandages and cases of some of the mummies from Dêr-el-bahri tell us that they had already wandered from place to place. Whether, as some have thought, from this and other evidence,* the splendid royal tombs were meant only as temporary resting-places, so great was the constant fear of the spoiler, I do not venture to say. It appears certain that Ramses II. had travelled from his own tomb to his father's, thence to Queen Ansera's, thence to King Amenophis', thence back to Seti's, before he found his way down the gloomy shaft, where he was to spend a little matter of 2,800 years,—the magnificent and boastful conqueror and wholesale robber thus dodging about among the Theban rocks to escape the harassing and contemptible robbers *in petto*!

But even with a more living subject than mummies, it would not be proper to keep you here far into the night. In addition to a few matters of detail that will almost explain themselves, there is one, perhaps less familiar

* Cf. Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 126.

than many others, which is curious and interesting, and is amply illustrated by the discoveries at Dêr-el-bahri. I refer to the use of flowers in mummy-decoration. These symbolized the garland or wreath of justification which the dead might hope to wear before the judgment-seat of Osiris, in the underworld of the West.* This was often painted on the coffin, and was often represented by actual leaves and flowers in the case of persons of high rank. Some of these flowers thus wreathed and festooned about the mummy were foreign plants, cultivated for the purpose in temple-gardens. They were variously disposed within the mummy-case. Single flowers might be inserted between the outermost bandage and the cloth enclosing the mummy, masses of leaves might be crowded between the mummy and its case, wreaths might be laid upon the remains, or the upper part, from neck to waist, might be draped with festoons. The mummy of Amenophis I., the same with which a wasp was found buried, was hung with garlands consisting of willow-leaves folded twice, and strung on a slender strip of date-palm leaf, the folded willow-leaves serving as a sort of clasp to retain blossoms of the Nile-acacia inserted between the folds. In like manner the mummy of Ramses II. was adorned with festoons of *Mimusops* leaves (*Persea*) folded in the same way, the pendant in this case consisting of petals from the blue lotus. The separate rolls were held in place by date-palm-leaf fibres serving as threads. The leaves, originally of firm texture,

* W. Pleijte, "La Couronne de la Justification," in *Actes du sixième Congrès Internat. des Orientalistes, tenu en 1883 à Leide*, Part IV., Sect. 3, pp. 1-30, and 25 plates (Leiden, 1885); also, G. Schweinfurth, "Der Blumenschmuck ägyptischer Mumien," in *Die Gartenlaube*, Leipzig, 1884, No. 38, with 3 illustrations.

have, in carefully enclosed mummy-cases, remained in good condition, and many of the flower-petals have kept their bright colors, a bit of cheerfulness amid all the sombreness of dusty decay.

Other matters I need do no more than mention. The flasks of Queen Isim'heb's toilet, the Ushebti figures that represent the serving-people who were to labor for her in the fields of the blessed, the jute basket with its mummified joints of meat for her sustenance,—these illustrate the minor objects found. Of the richly decorated canopy which protected her funeral barge it is impossible to give a proper notion, either by description or by any picture I have been able to secure.

It remains only to name, from the number of these mummies upon whose faces the light of the nineteenth-century sun has been allowed to shine, those that are perhaps the best preserved: The priest Nibsoni (XXIst Dyn.), lying in his coffin with uncovered face; the king Pinet'em, commonly called the IId, of somewhat Ethiopian appearance; and finally, that monarch of whom so much has been said, probably not the greatest of the Egyptian kings,—a title we shall do better to reserve for that diminutive body and intrepid soul that made up together the restless and dreaded conqueror, Tutmes III.,—but certainly the best-known sovereign of the Nile, Ramesses II. He is ubiquitous in Egypt. He set up his statue almost everywhere, and where he could not erect a statue he wrote his name (as on our obelisk). A picture of him as a child is preserved in the Louvre. The image of him now at Turin is one of the most famous representations of him in full vigor. There is a stately colossus of him in the museum at Bulaq, where it now has as companion-

pieces the huge mummy-case of Queen Ahmes-nefer-ateri and Queen Ah-hetep, her daughter, one the mother and the other the sister and wife of Amenophis I. (XVIIIth Dyn.), both found with him and Ramses in the secret tomb at Dér-el-bahri.

Ramses II. reigned two thirds of a century, and was probably at least ninety when he died. How much of that affection of subjects and respect of adversaries he enjoyed, which has fallen to the happier lot of the royal nonogenarian of our own day, we cannot tell. This life is sometimes said to be just now the key to the peace of Europe. It is hard to think that even fourscore years and ten could have turned Ramses II. into a peace-lover or a peace-maker. His features do not show it. It is a cruel, hard old face, wearied but not softened by the pressure of the years.*

Among us it has grown familiar to fashionable shoppers and careless school-boys.

If he was really the Pharaoh of the oppression, one may find a subtle punishment, as well as an irony of fate, in the fulfilment of that desire for earthly immortality which led him to multiply his inscriptions and his statues, by the exposure of the features sacredly covered 3,200 years ago,—securing his fame through what to him would have been sacrilegious outrage, and sending him out into a world larger than he dreamed of, not as a conqueror, but as an ancient and ghastly curiosity from a rifled tomb. Yet perhaps he cares less about it now than he once could have supposed it possible he should.

* On the recent unrolling of this and other mummies, see *Revue Archéol.*, July-Aug., 1886, and plates xii.—xiv. ; *Academy*, July 3 and 31, 1886 ; *American Journal of Archaeology*, September, 1886, pp. 331, *sq.*, etc.